2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

Shamanism

Shamans (*saxa ababyta*, Yakut priest, and *sdbâki* in the Viliuisk District) are divided into two classes, white or creative shamans (*Ajy ayuna*) and black or malevolent beings' shamans (*Abasy oyuna*). The white shaman serves as an intermediary between benevolent creative beings and mankind, whom he does not and cannot harm. He has no special shamanistic dress and does not even possess a drum. He bestows only blessings and asks the White-Lord-Creator to make beneficent gifts. He seldom addresses any other sky-dweller but the White-Lord-Creator: for instance, to cure barrenness he appeals to *Mohan Sylgylax* or some other deity. He does not kill cattle as a sacrifice; he only dedicates them to some sky dweller, after which the animal is not required to perform any work and is cared for and well fed.

Fig. 2 (70-9070). The Back of a Shaman's Ceremonial Coat.

The black shaman serves as an intermediary between evil spirits and men. He cures sick people by extracting from them the evil spirits causing the illness. The power and ability of the black shaman varies. His spirit protectors may dwell in the upper, middle, or lower worlds. The most powerful shaman is one who has wolf and bear spirits as his protectors. The black shaman may also harm men against whom he is ill-disposed, casting diseases and miseries on them.

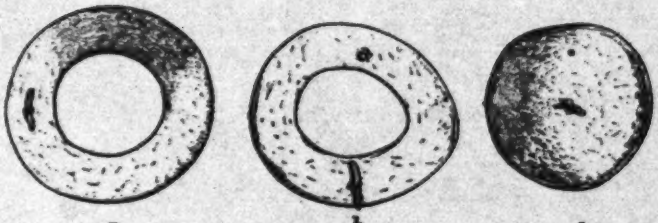
Some information on Yakut shamanism was given in my publications on the Koryak and Yukaghir.[1] Here I shall treat the subject in more detail and add new drawings and additional explanations to the illustrations in these previous publications.

The Shaman's Coat. I succeeded in securing for the Museum three costumes of Yakut shamans. Two were secured in the Yakut District of

[1] Jochelson, Waldemar, The Koryak (*Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 10, 1905-1908), 21, 30, 36, 48, 53, 56, 57, 59, 61, 91, 92, 101, 102, 113, 119, 120; Jochelson, Waldemar, The Yukaghir and Yukaghirised Tungus (*Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 13, 1910-1926), 135, 158, 159, 182, 183, 185, 186.

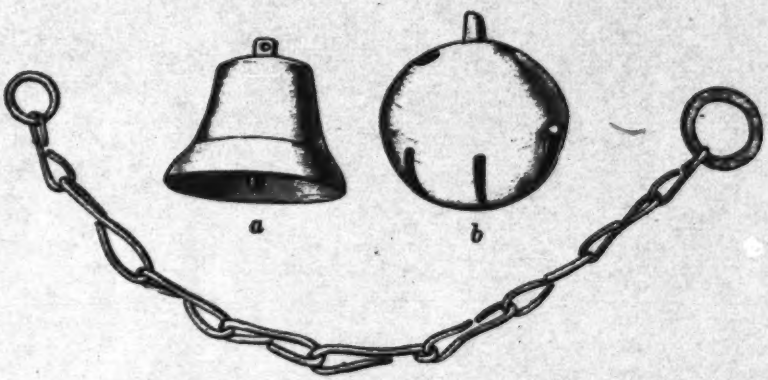
2; Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

756
292
532



a *b* *c*

Fig. 3 *a–c* (70–9070). Three Iron Discs attached to the Back of the Shaman's Coat shown in Fig. 2. The discs represent the sun and moon which illuminate the shaman's path to the subterranean world and the ice hole for descending to the lower world.



a *b* *c*

Fig. 4 *a–c* (70–9070). Appendages to the Back of the Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). *a*, A copper bell; *b*, A copper rattle; *c*, An iron chain which is held by the shaman's assistant to prevent the spirits from carrying him off.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

Yakut Province, east of the city of Yakutsk, while one was obtained on the Kolyma River. 756 292 [115]

The back view of a Yakut shaman's dress, *oyún kirár tañasá* (shaman's rite coat) is shown in Fig. 2. It was bought in the Meginski *ulus* of the Yakutsk District from the Yakut, Slyeptsov, who explained the significance of its different parts. Although Slyeptsov himself, was not a shaman, his explanations do agree generally with the descriptions of Yakut shaman's costumes furnished by other investigators, primarily Pekarsky and Vasilyev.[1] The coat is made of poorly tanned calf hides. During his performance, the shaman wears it next to his naked body. Above the shoulder blades, across the back, is sewn a band of thick bull hide, to which are attached iron and copper pendants and small rattles. Similar bands are sewn on below it, across the entire back.

Under the upper pendants (*kīsan*) on the back of the coat may be seen three iron discs (Fig. 3*a–c*). The lower disc (Fig. 3*c*), which has a somewhat spherical concave surface is called, according to Vasilyev, *kūn* (sun). When the shaman descends into the dark lower world during his performance, the *kūn* must light his path. According to my own notes, this disc is called *yi-kūsāña*, i.e., the moon disc, thus representing the moon. The middle disc (Fig. 3*b*), with a somewhat irregular hole, is called *kūn-kūsāñá*, that is, the sun disc. It represents the shaman's sun, which must illuminate his path during his journey to the subterranean world. The upper disc with a hole (Fig. 3*a*) is called *oibón-kūsāñá*. *Oibón*, ice hole, refers to the hole through which the shaman descends to the lower world, the world of evil spirits. 532 756 292

Still another iron disc, called *ān yā doidu*, original earth-mother, is mentioned by Vasilyev. According to the explanation given to him by a shaman the disc represents the earth, which the shaman, when flying on a cloud to the upper worlds, retains as a warrant that he will be returned to the earth. The hole in this disc is also called *oibón*, ice hole; this is somewhat contradictory to the usual meaning of *oibón* as an ice hole through which the shaman descends to the lower world.

All the metallic pendants of the shaman's coat are called *kīsan*, although some have special names. Copper bells, small rattles, and bells in the form of bivalvular shells are called *xobo-kīsan*. The metallic bivalvular shell has not been figured, but these shells may be seen on the

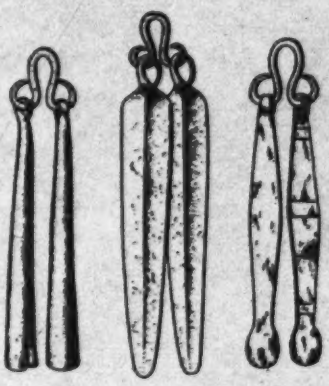
[1] Pekarsky, E. K., The Coat and Drum of the Yakut Shaman: Materials on the Ethnography of Russia, Vol. 1 (*Publications of the Ethnographical Division of the Russian Museum of the Emperor Alexander III*, St. Petersburg, 1910, in Russian); Vasilyev, V. M., Description d'un Costume et d'un Tambourin de Chaman chez des Jakuts (*Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, vol. 1, part 2, no. 8, pp. 1–47, St.-Pétersbourg, 1910, in Russian).

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

756
292
532

upper part of the back under the collar, together with copper bells and rattles.

Three copper bells like that in Fig. 4*a* are attached to the back of the coat, two on the shoulders, and one under the collar. A copper rattle may be seen in Fig. 4*b*. Fig. 4*c* illustrates the iron chain called *tāsin*, that is, bridle, on the back. It is attached to rings which are sewn to the coat under the armpits. The assistant holds the shaman by this chain to prevent the spirits from carrying him off, when his soul departs for the lower regions or towards heaven.

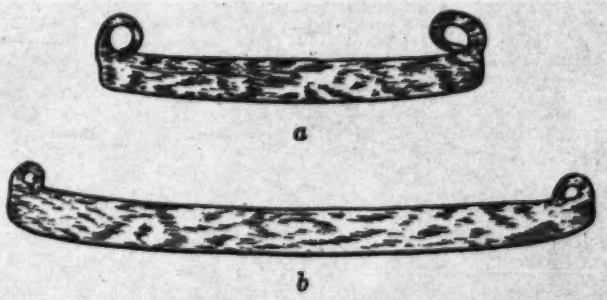


a *b* *c*

Fig. 5 *a–c* (70–9070). Appendages representing his Bird Spirit on the Back of a Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). *a*, A pair of conical tubular pendants; *b*, A pair of flat iron plates; *c*, Flat iron pendants of another type.

A pair of pendants in the shape of conical hollow iron tubes called *coñdoi kīsan* is illustrated in Fig. 5*a*. Fig. 5*b* shows another pair of pendants made of flat lancet-like iron plates, called *cilliritkīsan* and representing the feathers of the bird which appears as the shaman's spirit. A pair of another type of flat iron pendants represents bird feathers (Fig. 5*c*).

An elongated iron strap (Fig. 6*b*) attached to the upper part of the sleeve at the back, between the shoulder and elbow, is called *tabūtal timira*, that is, upper-arm-iron. It should be noted that *tabūtal* means the humerus of birds. The shorter iron strap (Fig. 6*a*), sewn to the sleeve between the elbow and wrist, is called *xari-timira* (*xari*, human forearm



a

b

Fig. 6 *ab* (70–9070). Two Iron Bands attached to the Back of the Sleeves of a Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). *a*, Represents the forearm bone; *b*, Represents the upper arm.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

756
292
532

bones). The iron band representing the upper arm is called a bird's humerus, while the representation of the bones of the forearm is called after the corresponding human bones. However, for the plate representing the upper arm, Pekarsky and Vasilyev give another term, *aktmal*, which really means human humerus. Vasilyev states that one shaman did not call the lower plate representing the forearm, *tari*, that is, human forearm bones, but *xotohoi*, bird's stroke feathers. If these pendants on the sleeves represent parts of the skeleton of a deceased shaman, it is interesting to note the confusion of bird and human bones. I agree, however, with Vasilyev that no contradiction is involved in such confusion. If we assume that the Yakut shamanistic coat, like that of the Yukaghir, represents a bird's skin, with the help of which the shaman is transformed into a bird, then, at the moment of transformation, he is a bird-man. He is supposed to rise to the upper world by means of his coat, whereas he descends to the lower world through the ice-hole disc previously mentioned. On the other hand, some Yakut gave different interpretations for the iron pendants. These were said to serve as a kind of armor in a contest with hostile shamans and spirits. Slyeptzov, a Yakut, gave me a similar explanation of two iron plates sewn on in place of the shoulder blades and called *sarïn-timira*, that is, shoulder irons. These iron shoulder blades were said to protect the shaman in conflicts with more powerful shamans.

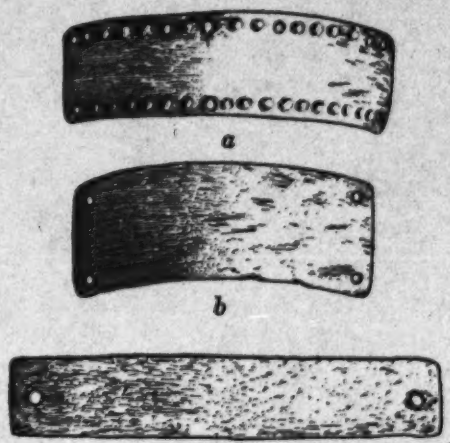


Fig. 7 *abc* (70–9070). Appendages to the Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). These are transverse bent iron plates attached at the bend of the elbow and at the edge of the sleeves and represent the elbow joint and the wrist (*a*, *b*) and one of the ribs of the shaman's spirit (*c*).

On the sleeves, at the top, are transverse bent iron plates (Fig. 7*a*–*b*), one at the bend of the elbow, the other at the edge of the sleeve. These represent the elbow joint and the wrist. Below the elbows, on both sides of the coat, we find seven iron plates running parallel to each other. Four are sewn on at the right side, as may be seen in Fig. 2.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

It appears that the end of one plate has loosened and hangs on one strap. On the left side, are only three plates. All seven plates are called *oyohos-timir*, that is, iron ribs. On a Yukaghir shaman's coat we found fourteen ribs (*nugored-amunpe*, that is, side bones),[1] seven on each side. We have no explanation for the seven ribs represented on the Yakut shaman's coat. On the coat described by Vasilyev and Pekarsky,[2] only seven ribs were represented.

Fig. 8 *ab* (70-9070). *a*, A Bent Iron Disc on the Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2) representing the Dim Moon illuminating the Lower World; *b*, A Representation of the Shaman's Seat on which he ascends to the Upper World and descends to the Lower World.

Fig. 7*c* represents one of the ribs.

Fig. 8*a* shows a half-circle called *kāllāhāi yi* (that is, half moon), made of a bent iron disc, with cracked edges. Such a dim moon illuminated the lower world. A quite massive irregular iron circle (Fig. 8*b*), somewhat convex on the obverse and concave on the reverse, called *kūsāñā*, represents the shaman's seat (*oyūn oloho*), on which he ascends to the upper worlds and descends to the lower worlds when performing shamanistic rites, in accordance with the requirements of the moment. On the convex side are three engraved figures: two birds and a land animal. Some authors translate the word *kūsāñā* as sun (instead of *kūn*). The birds are probably ravens and the animal represents a wolf. Attached to the central loop are two iron pendants representing the sun's tail (*kūsāñā kuturuga*); one (a ring and a hook) is called *balyk kȳsān* (fish-like pendant); the other (an elongated link), *kōndōi kȳsān* (hollowed tube).

The pendant illustrated in Fig. 9*a* is called *bālānjīk*, which means, the edge of the sleeve. There is one such iron piece for each sleeve, each representing the shaman's hand with five iron fingers "strong and clinging like iron." Some *bālānjīks* have six fingers to show that the shaman

[1] See Jochelson, Yukaghir, 178.
[2] Pekarsky, and Vasilyev, *ibid.*

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

756
292
532

is not like an ordinary man, but has much more power. Another pendant (Fig. 9*b*) is called *xopto*, gull, and represents one of the upper spirits related to the *irär ämägät* (see below).

We turn now to the front of the Yakut shaman's coat (Fig. 10). Two iron pieces (Fig. 11*c–d*) fastened to the coat under the chin, on the breast piece, represent the clavicles. Unfortunately I do not find their

Fig. 9 *ab* (70–9070). Pendants on the Shaman's Coat (Fig. 2). *a*, Represents the shaman's hand with five iron fingers; *b*, Represents a gull, one of the upper spirits.

Fig. 10 (70–9070). The Front of a Shaman's Ceremonial Coat (see Fig. 2).

Yakut name in my records. Fig. 11*f* shows one of the copper circles on the breast piece of the coat (see Fig. 10). These are called *oyūn ömiyin kärätä*, shaman's breast nipples. Fig. 11*e* is called *jäs ämägät*, copper representation of the head of the *yörs*, i.e., of souls of the departed, who fly over the earth and distribute diseases that people may bestow offerings on them and thus be released from pain. In addition to the *jäs ämägät*, on some shamans' coats, is another copper man-figure called *külär ämägät*, the laughing spirit, or *irär-ämägät*, the raving spirit. It represents one of the upper evil spirits, which causes madness. A

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

756
392
532

stork (*kytalyk*) spirit made of an iron plate is represented in Fig. 11*b*. Fig. 11*a* represents a grebe (*kushas*) spirit. One of the spirits of the upper world, related to the *irär-ämägät* (raving spirit causing madness) is in the shape of a grebe, stork, or gull (*xopto*). All three bird spirits appear as assistants and executors of the shaman's orders. To extract from the

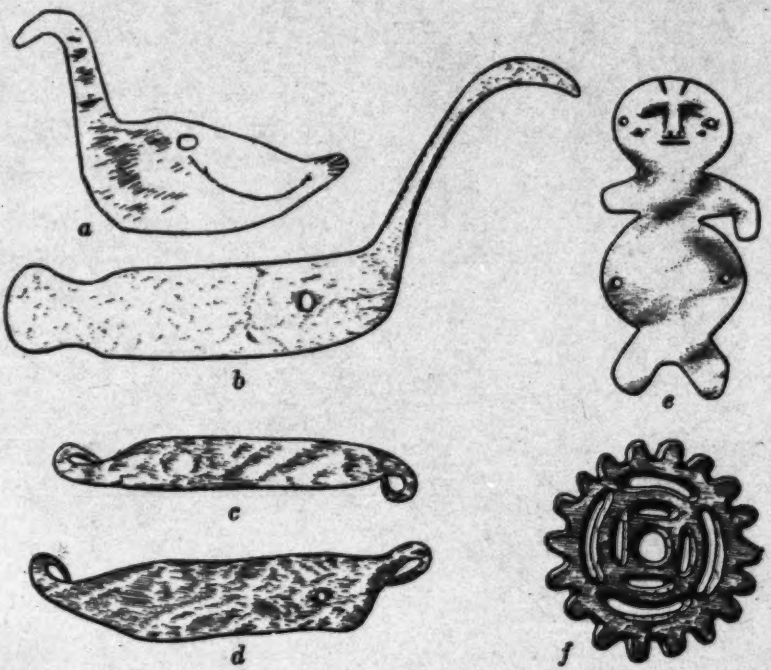


Fig. 11 *a–f* (70–9070). Ornaments on the Front of the Shaman's Coat shown in Fig. 10. *a*, Representation of a grebe spirit; *b*, Representation of a stork spirit; *c–d*, Two pieces of iron representing the clavicles, fastened to the coat under the chin; *e*, Copper representation of the head of the souls of the departed; *f*, One of two copper discs representing the shaman's breast nipples.

body of a patient the spirit causing the illness the Yakut shaman pecks the ailing part with the beak of the iron grebe attached to his ceremonial coat.

There are many other copper or iron figures on the shaman's garb which are not on the costume described; for instance, the *yt* (dog), a flat iron figure representing a dog, is one of the shaman's assistant-spirits, which bites and gnaws the shaman's enemies or their relatives. To be

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

a *b*

Fig. 12 (70-8861). Front and Back of a Typical Shaman's Coat.

756
272
532

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

756
292
532

released from the illness caused by the dog spirit it is necessary to appeal to its shaman master.

The front of the Yakut shaman's coat (Fig. 10) has no special breast piece. Between the left side of the coat and the breast is a seam, but, in my opinion, the front piece is not the remainder of an apron which characterizes Tungus or Yukaghir clothing. It is simply a piece of skin attached to eke out the scantiness of the material. However, the coat is not fastened along a median line at the front as it ought to be, but nearer to the right hand, and thus the breast piece looks like a chest protector.

The front of a Yakut shaman's dress of genuine cut is shown in Fig. 12*a*. There is no breast piece at all. The front borders are held together by tying strings. There are two *jās āmāgāt* (see Fig. 11*e*), and six iron spear points, which the shaman uses in fighting evil spirits. A bent piece of iron below the neck is regarded as a chest protector. The back of the same coat may be seen in Fig. 12*b*. The two iron discs represent the sun and moon. The flat and the hollow iron pendants, the bivalve decorations, and the bands representing the humerus and forearm have already been discussed.

Two triangular figures near the shoulders represent the shaman's shoulder blades, called *sarīn-timirā*, that is, shoulder-irons, and two triangular iron plates below the waist represent his pelvic bones.[1] It must be remembered that the iron plates which represent human bones form the shaman's skeleton. On this coat the representation of ribs and the bridle by which the assistant holds the shaman to prevent the spirits from carrying him off are missing.

For comparative purposes reference should be made to a photograph of a Yakut shaman which I took on the Kolyma River in 1895.[2] Here a separate apron may be clearly seen under the straps on the edge of the coat. But the coat is not Yakut. The representation of shamanistic birds on the apron recalls the aprons of Yukaghir shamans. On each side of the coat we find seven ribs.

Fig. 13 represents the back of a Yakut shaman's dress which I secured on the Kolyma River, at Rodchevo Village not far from Verkhne Kolymsk. This dress has an absolutely different pattern which I have not encountered elsewhere and which does not tally with any of the descriptions in the literature of Yakut shamanism. The peculiarities of the pattern and the absence of the metallic pendants so characteristic of Yakut shamanistic costume, may be explained in part by Tungus

[1] Another informant called the triangles below the discs *oyun-oluo*, that is, shaman's stars.
[2] See Jochelson, Yukaghir, Plate IX, Fig. 1.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

756
292
177

influence, and to some extent by the high cost and difficulty of securing iron and copper in the northern sections of Yakut Province. The coat is made of dressed reindeer hide, instead of the calf hide usually employed by the Yakut. The skirt of the coat is not sewn to the upper half, but is buckled to the latter under the fringe at the belt, so that the garment may be lengthened or shortened to fit the shaman. The sleeves are not

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

Fig. 13 (70–8529). Back View of a Shaman's Coat worn by Yakut of the Kolyma River.

Fig. 14 (70–8530). Headdress of the Kolyma Yakut Shaman.

Fig. 15 (70–8531*b*). Footgear of the Kolyma Yakut Shaman.

in one piece, but consist of longitudinal strips of hide sewn to the shoulders and to the leather rings at the elbow and wrist. This coat is not worn over the naked body, but over the ordinary dress. The pendants, *kīsan*, on the coat consist of tassels strung with beads and of copper tubes with copper discs sewn to their ends. On the back a longitudinal tasseled strip ending in a tail represents the vertebræ, *tonohos*. The tail consists of an iron arrow with iron pendants at the sides, called *jil kīsan*.

[532]

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

756
292
177
532

The fringe around the coat represents feathers. In front of the coat is visible the apron, which is sewn to the left border as a chest protector and tied to the right with straps. This is not put on separately, as among the Tungus and Yukaghir. In this respect the arrangement of the apron is like that described by Vasilyev and Pekarsky for a Yakut shaman's coat. The dress itself is not decorated with the iron figures characteristic of Yakut shamanistic coats. Instead, tin discs hang from the edge of the inner side of the drum which belongs to the costume. These discs replaced the ice-hole-disc (*oibón-küsäñä*) and sun-disc (*kün-küsäñä*), which are usually sewn to the back of the coat. Inside the drum were also tin representations of birds; a stork (*kitalik*), and two varieties of wood-cocks called *čökčöño* and *kurrikači*. Representations of birds were placed on the apron and on those coats of Yakut shamans which had chest protectors.

Fig. 14 represents the headdress, belonging to the shaman's dress, illustrated in Fig. 13. It consists of a wire ring decorated with a reindeer skin fringe. The fringe hat is characteristic of the Yukaghir and Tungus shamans. The Yakut shamans either dispense with a hat altogether, letting their long hair hang loosely over the face, or they wear women's caps. The leather footgear of the shaman is illustrated in Fig. 15.

756
292

Not all Yakut shamans wear a special dress during their shamanistic performances, some perform without a special costume and even without a drum. On the Kolyma River, I met such a shaman, named Konon. He was blind. Konon was often called in to cure the sick and was regarded as a powerful shaman. But he told me himself that he did not have the main *ämägät* (shaman's spirit). For a shaman's coat he substituted a woman's coat, *sañiyax*, while instead of a drum, he used as a horse for his journey to the subterranean world a willow (*jalbyr*) with three branches, to which were tied hair from the tail of a white horse.[1] He wore a woman's cap made of ermine skins. Before the shamanistic performance, the assistant bound the shaman's chest and shoulder with a strap, *täsin*, the end of which he held from behind, while the performance was in progress.

756
534
177

The Shaman's Drum. The Yakut shaman's drum (*düñür* or *tüñür*) is covered with a hide from a young bull (Fig. 16). It is oval in shape. Its longitudinal diameter is 53 cm.; the width of the rim, 11 cm. There are twelve protuberances or elevations representing horns, which serve as resonators, but also have a symbolic significance. According to a Yakut shaman from the Rodchevo settlement on the Kolyma River, who had

[1] See Jochelson, Yukaghir, Plate X, Fig. 1.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

292
531

A rich woman's cap is shown in Fig. 31. The top is of woolen cloth; the front is decorated with an ornamental silver disc called *tusaxta*, which is described below (Fig. 63). The lower part of the cap is of black

Fig. 28. The Summer Costume of an Impoverished Yakut.

Fig. 29 (70–9229). Fur Cap worn by Men.

Fig. 30 (70–8509). Fur Hood worn by Women.

foxskin and at the back covers the neck and hangs down the back. In form it resembles the old caps of rich Kirghiz women.

531
291

Fig. 32*ab* shows the front and back of an ornamented top for a woman's cap, decorated with tiny many colored beads. On the front (Fig. 32*a*) is a round silver plate *tusaxta* and on the back (Fig. 32*b*) a red cloth figure, the whole resembling the hat of a Catholic prelate. Beneath this, silver ornaments are fastened to the cloth between two bands of embroidery in silk. Fig. 33 shows two Yakut women from Yakutsk wearing felt hats called *kergemsex* which are imported from European Russia. In

177
291

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

tight back and loose skirt; the sleeves are tight at the wrist and enlarge gradually to the shoulders, where they are gathered into folds. To give fullness to the skirt gores are set in at the sides, producing many folds in this ugly garment. The collar of the *son* is always worn flat. The *son* of a poor Yakut is shown in Fig. 28. On a journey the Yakut wears an overcoat (*supun* from the Russian *zypun*) made of white, yellow, or gray cloth over the *son*. Its skirts are even fuller than those of the *son*. In addition, the skirt is slit at the back to facilitate riding. The

Fig. 34. A Yakut Elder on Horseback, wearing a Russian Cloth Cap with a Peak.

collar and the side borders are usually trimmed with plush or red cloth. In a woman's *supun* the lower border of the skirt is also ornamented.

For traveling the Yakut also use another kind of shirt-like overcoat made of reindeer skins without a slit in front. The Yakut buy this type of garment ready-made from the Chukchee, Tungus, or Yukaghir. Such coats have different names adapted from the Russians, like *parky*, *kuklyanky*, *kukashky* (Russian *parki*, *kuzlanki*, *kukashki*).

Sanayax or *sañyyax* (fur outside) is a long fur overcoat which reaches the ground. It is made of different kinds of fur. In Fig. 31 a lynx coat is shown. The borders of the skirt and sleeves are trimmed with land otter fur. The collar is also of land otter. The lynx has been

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

272 practically exterminated by hunters in Yakut Province and its skin is very expensive. Lynx coats are generally found in rich families who have inherited them from their parents.

531 The type of woman's coat shown in Fig. 35 is called *parchevoi sanayax,*
272 from the Russian *parcha,* which means silver or gold brocaded material used for the ceremonial clothing of priests. The back and sides of the coat

Fig. 35. Woman's Coat decorated with Beaded Bands.

are covered with strips of *parcha.* It is lined with squirrel and covered with land otter. The skirt is trimmed with lynx. On the back and sides may be seen various decorative pieces of silver (*simax*). The collar is of sable leg fur. As in other Yakut overcoats, this skirt is also slit at the back to facilitate riding. The photograph (Fig. 35), taken by the author, is of a Yakut woman of Yakut Province from whom the coat was purchased. The beaded decorations on the right side of the coat are called

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

292 ●
531
[302]
[372]

sasyltumsa, meaning fox's nose. On the left side of the coat is attached the strike-a-light (*xatat*) (see Fig. 36) with a leather bag for tinder (*kyalyk*); the cover of the pocket is decorated with a silver ornament. Also attached to the coat are the *iskax*, small pincers with which women pull out their pubic hair, and *sabaska*, a little wooden calendar. In addition to the silver pendants and bead decorations the coat is embroidered in silk. All the pendants on the left side of the coat are called *ottuk simaha*.

Fig. 36 (70-8633). Steel for making Fire.

The back of a rich woman's *sanayax*, black cloth decorated with silver embroidery, is illustrated in Fig. 37. The collar and skirt are covered with the valuable sea otter fur. The border of the skirt and its slit are trimmed with lynx. The silver embroidery, is, I believe, not original with the Yakut but is an adaptation from Russian art.

Some additional women's *sanayaxes* in the Museum collection merit description. A decorated coat of a foalskin with the hair on has a skirt trimmed with lynx. Above the trimming is a checker work strip made of alternate black and white squares, the white of horse legs and the black of horse and cowskins. On the back is appliquéd a figure made of lynx and *tarbagan* (a kind of marmot—*arctomys* spec.) skins. This, called *kybytya*, means a wedge, but the figure is in the form of outstretched wings (Fig. 38) and, according to the Yakut, symbolizes the shoulder blades and has a magical significance.

Fig. 37 (70-9068). Back of a Highly Ornamented Coat, the Type worn by Rich Women. The decorative motives are embroidered in silver thread.

292
532
727

The preference for *tarbagan* as coat material, says Sieroszevski,[1] originated evidently in their former abode in southern Siberia. In their present territory *tarbagan* is lacking. But Baron Toll[2] saw this animal to the north of the Verkhoyansk Mountain Ridge as did the writer in various parts of Yakutsk Province.

292
136
[171]

[1] Sieroszevski, *ibid.*, 335.
[2] Toll, E., *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Russischs Reiches*, 100.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

● 292

Fig. 38 (70-8499). Front and Back of a Woman's Foalskin Coat.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

292

Fig. 38*ab* represents a *sanayax* of foalskins. The *kybytya* on the back is made of a black foalskin. The white stripes on the skirt are of white horse legskins and the black stripes of black cowskin.

The Yakut *pestreidax sanayax* (evidently from the Russian word *pestryi*, many colored) (70–8523) is of skins of yearling reindeer fawns. The skirt is trimmed with wolf fur, above which is a decoration made of black and white foalskins. The *kybytya* is made of lynx and wolverene furs.

Another *sanayax* (70–8525) in the collection is of lynx fur; the skirt is trimmed with squirrel tails and the *kybytya* is of land otter. One *sanayax* is of the fur of *tarbagans*.

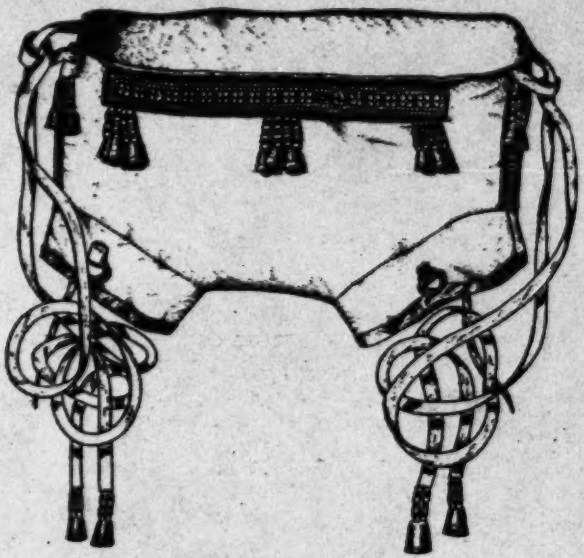


Fig. 39 (70–8724). A Woman's Trousers of curried Elkskin ornamented with Beads and Brass Bells.

Formerly the *sanayax*[1] was worn on the naked body, but now under this fur coat the wealthier Yakut wear Russian shirts of calico or some other cotton material which they call *yrbaxy* (Russian *rubaxa*),—short, to the haunches or knees for men, and long, to the condyles or heels, for women. The woman's long shirt is also called *xaladai*. The Yakut do not wash these shirts. They remove them before going to bed, sleeping under their fur blankets, naked, except for their short trousers of soft, curried reindeer skin called *sarysyalya*. These are worn by men and women alike, and are shaped so that they are higher behind, leaving the abdomen uncovered in front, which deficiency is made up by the wearing of warm stomachers

513
296
291

1 [Cf. pp. 147–149, Category IIL -- ANALYST]

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

they do not use fur sleeping bags as do the Russians and some of the Tungus, nor do they sleep dressed in double fur clothing like the Chukchee and Koryak. They simply cover their naked shoulders with a hare skin blanket. There is a Russian proverb which says: Keep the feet warm, the head cold. The Yakut follow the opposite custom. When traveling in winter with Yakut drivers it was noted that they lay with heads and not their feet near the campfire. Usually one of the men stayed awake to tend the fire, but it sometimes happened that everyone fell asleep, the fire was extinguished, the blankets were lifted by the wind, exposing the naked backs of the sleepers to the frost which was covered with rime,—and they continued to sleep.

Fig. 46. Costume of Poor Yakut Children.

Pottery

In our discussion of dwellings we noted the Yakut use of clay to cover their earth huts and to rub their stoves. For these purposes they use an inferior clay called *cuor*, meaning simply, earth, soil. Clay for pottery is called *tuoi*. It cannot be said that Yakut pottery reaches great perfection, since the ceramic art is still in a low stage of development. However, clay pots are made everywhere in Yakutsk Province, except in its northern districts. The Yakut of the Verkhoyansk and Kolymsk districts and the northern part of the Viliuisk District neither manufacture nor use pottery.

Pottery-making requires the joint labor of men and women, the former find the suitable clay and the latter construct the pots. Pottery clay is found in the valleys of mountain rivers, usually forming a layer two meters thick under the black surface soil. That the Yakut brought the art of pottery-making with them from their original home in the south may be proven by the potsherds excavated in the Baikal region. Neither the Buryat, the present inhabitants of that region, nor the Mongols generally, ever made pottery. The potter's wheel and such refinements of the art as polishing, glazing, or painting, are all unknown to the Yakut, so that their pottery-making did not extend beyond the confines of the rudimentary technique.

6: Sauer--121 G-5 (1785-94)1802 Yakut
116, 292, 756, 534

"The magician's [RCH: the shaman's] dress is a leather jacket, with sleeves from the shoulder to the elbow; along the outer seam, long slips of leather are sewn, as also round the bottom, hanging to the ground. The jacket is covered with iron plates, and pieces of iron and brass hanging, which makes a dismal noise while he is leaping about and beating his tambour. He has also a piece of leather, like a long apron, reaching from his chin to his knees, tied before, and ornamented in the same manner. His tambour is very large, and also ornamented in the edges and cross bars with iron and brass; and his stick is covered with the skin of some short-haired animal. He also wears, at the commencement of his incantations, a fur cap; but this he throws off almost as soon as he begins his magic spells."

14: Krauss--172 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-1-2
116, 292, 756

Only a few shamans possess the garment in which to perform the mystery ceremonies. As a rule the shamans are exceedingly poor people without a house of their own; they live on their daily resources, on the alms they receive for their performances.

The shaman clothing is expensive, because the ornaments have to be made of chased iron. The size, proportions, and form of all the ornaments of the garment must be exactly and carefully observed, as established by ancient customs. Not every smith knows how to make all the iron ingredients of it; he charges 40 rubles for it.

As far as I know, only a few shaman garments have survived in the Yakut area; it would be easy to enumerate the existing ones. Police and clergy persecute the shamans, take the clothes away and burn it before the Yakut consistory. However, by taking his clothes, one has not yet deprived the shaman of the possibility of performing ceremonies.

The whole clothing of a shaman consists of a caftan made of tanned hides or buckskins; besides he has a drum with a wooden drumstick, and a staff. The caftan is known as kuma; it is hanged with iron ornaments. They represent: a lizard, an emoer-goose, a pierced sun, the half of a moon, a demon, an iron chain, or also a buck's tail. These ornaments are supposed to remind the shamans and shaman magicians that the ghost realm which he enters during the ceremony is populated by such animals, birds, and fish; the pierced sun and the half moon, on the other hand, hint that twilight reigns where the spirits live. The tail indicates that shamanism is reliable

and safe, and so does the chain, which serves as a guide to the spirits' realm. Several bands and iron knee-limbs which look like joints and represent bones, hands, and ribs serve the shaman as a shield on his walks through the spirits' realm, and in his battles with inimical spirits.

The sleeves and tails of the kuma are hanged with long fringes of shagreen.

14: Krauss--172-173 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut -1-2
116, 292, 756, 301, 532

Now I should like to describe the ornaments of the shaman dress. On the front part of the kuma, from the throat down to the lower edge, three storks are represented (kytaly); this is the symbol of the flying up of the shaman. The ember-goose (kogas), too, is a symbol for the same thing.

On the heart there are three little figures of devils (emjagjal, abasy), the symbol of the permanent presence of the demon in the heart, furthermore two representations of the iron heart of the devil (sjurachtimirja).

On the collarbones there are two iron stripes, which are supposed to be a representation exactly of the collarbones (chamargan-timirja).

Tjargjan-berja, a representation of the devils' eyes.

Ojgos-belgjunja, two hip-bones (in the sides).

Ojgos-umochtar, four devils' ribs from each side.

An octagonal figure with seven holes, stitched in the throat region. The shamans refuse to give any information as to this item, saying that nobody would dare to pronounce their names, and to explain their significance. [173]

On the sleeves; two shoulder-blades (bjulgjul-timirja).

Two ulnas (akymal-chapgaga).

Arm joints, two small bones (begalcach-sjusiega).

Two cartilages of the palm of the hand (akymal-uljuga).

Two bones, representing bird wings (tabytal-timirja).

The fringes on the sleeves mean vulture wings (elie).

On the back: a piece of a seal tail, round children's rattles (abasy-semjaga), all devils ornaments indispensable for a trip to the lower world.

Abasy-balyga, a devil's fish.

Kjular-kjusjanat, the cheerful, gay devil sun; thereon two points of arrows, balyk-kygana, and kandej-sysana, designating the tail of the sun (kjugjan-kuturuka).

Ojbon-timirja, the iron abyss, where the ember-goose hides after having swallowed the shaman. A little bit below, a claw is fixed on this iron, from which the ember-goose will quench his thirst.

Chatat-timirja, the devil's lighter.

Batyrys, a fringe on the tail of the garment.

Two iron arrow points shaped like elk's horns, the significance of which is not certain.

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

facing P. 264

292
796

YAKUT GIRL IN FESTIVE ATTIRE.
(From photographs taken by the author.)

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

796 deity; and formerly horses were often consecrated by being
273 driven to the east.[1]

The plate just referred to represents one act in a spring festival.[2] In front of the altar stands the steward, having on one side of him the owner of the drove, and on the other the latter's wife. All three face to the east side of the sky, where the benevolent deities have their abode. On the right side of the altar stand nine innocent youths in a row, and on the left a row of nine pure maidens, with goblets filled with kumiss consecrated
[292] to the benevolent deities. The splendid festival attire worn on this occasion by a Yakut girl is shown in Plate XX, which represents both back and front views. The trimming consists of valuable fur, silver pendants, and other decorations.

The steward addresses a prayer to the "creators," begging for blessings,—increase of horses and cattle, a good harvest of hay, good health for the people and animals, and an abundance of food. Then he takes the kumiss-festival ladle (*ysyax xamyyahe*), and makes a libation, in the direction of the dawn, to the benevolent deities (see Plate XVII). Then, while making a libation to the ground, he addresses the local deity, "the owner of the place" (*ăn doidu iccitā*), asking him not to harm
[787] the inhabitants of the spot and the members of the clan. After that, the steward, with the help of the sacrificial ladle, proceeds to divine. He throws the ladle towards the sky: and if it falls with the front part upwards, it portends the granting by the deities of future abundance; and all the people utter the joyful cry *Uruu!*

Then the boys and girls give the goblets with the sacrificial kumiss, according to the directions of the steward, to the elder and honored members of the clan, both male and female. These, after placing themselves,—the men on the right and the women on the left of the altar,—drink off the kumiss from
[782]

[1] Bloody sacrifices are given only to evil deities, and not to the "creators" (see JOCHELSON, The Koryak, l. c., p. 91).

[2] The festival above mentioned was arranged specially for my benefit; and most of the people, not having ancient dresses, are not clothed in festival attire, as they would have been in olden times. Neither have they enough kumiss-goblets. Most of the goblets to be seen in the photograph were lent by me from the specimens I had acquired in other localities for the collection. This festival took place within two hundred miles of the town of Yakutsk, to the east.

1. [The spring kumiss festival -- Analyst]

/184 cont./

224 caught in traps, but is also dug out of its den, as we ourselves had
[435] an opportunity to observe on our return journey. The price of a good skin here yields on the average about a ruble, but many different kinds are distinguished according to quality, and the poorer ones are valued at only half a ruble; the winter pelts are, of course, the best. The highly prized blue variety of the arctic fox seems
[651] to be practically unknown here. The crown tax as well as the goods purchased from the merchants are paid for with the skins of the arctic fox.

[543] Around Easter a kind of annual fair is held here, at which appear both the inhabitants of the islands lying in front of the mouth of the Olenék and those from the nearest settlements of the forest region, in order /185/ to trade skins for the necessary commodities
[511] from the traders -- tobacco, tea, cloth, ironware, etc. Despite the inhospitable climate the people here seem to be well off and
[512] very content. Even during the dark months they go about their
[132] activities out in the open, especially fishing, and only about the time of the reappearance of the sun, around the Day of the Holy Three Kings (sixth of January, old style), when the most frightful snowstorms set in, do they shut themselves up completely -- often
342 for a couple of weeks -- in their dwellings. The latter are much
362 more solidly built than in the forest region, in order to offer suf-
313 ficient resistance against the force of the storms. The material for building as well as for heating consists of driftwood which is supplied by the river and even more by the ocean. Besides the
797 merchants, Boljkalák is also visited almost annually by a missionary, who holds services in the chapel here. Chitrow praises the devoutness of the people -- the outward signs of this did not remain unnoticed by us either.

554 On the day after our arrival the elder (stárosta) of the
292 Kangaláss Jakuten /Yakut/ appeared with fresh reindeer for the
123 return journey. He ranked higher than both the local elder and the one accompanying us and wore, as a mark of distinction, a sort of uniform, a yellowish gray cloth coat with red trimming
233 and a gold-embroidered belt with a short sword. The new reindeer, which had to be given a day of rest, and the previous ones

122 /190 cont./
123 a low box, usually in a half-reclining or crouching position, is very
[352] tiring after any length of time. In the yurts of our hospitable Jakut /Yakut/ friends we had occasionally found miniature tables from one to two feet high, which were placed beside the sleeping places, but here in Ssiktjach for the first time we again sat on chairs at a table covered with a clean cloth.

/191/ Ninth Chapter

600 The Jakut /Yakut/ dignitaries. -- We exchange gifts. -- Narten of persons of rank. -- Northward again! -- Kŭssŭr. -- The upráwa /uprava/ of the Shigansker Ulŭsses /Zhigansk ulus/. -- The clergyman from Bulún. -- The ivory trade. -- The population. -- Prohibition against liquor. -- Unselfishness of the upráwa. -- At the Arctic Ocean again. -- The Jakut stan. -- Astronomical observations with the mercury frozen. -- Dshejelák-Dshaná. -- Animal husbandry in the far north. -- The northern part of the Werchojansk /Verkhoyansk/ district.

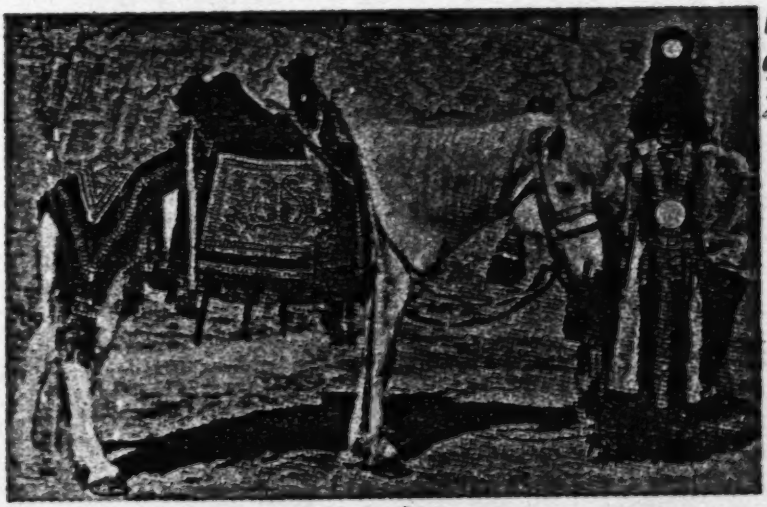
122 During our stay in Ssiktjách /Siktyakh/, the notables of the
[123] entire district one by one honored us with their visits -- various
[554] elders in the uniform described above, and finally a former
golowá of the entire ulŭsses /ulus/, a dignified old man in a
● [292] much more elaborate uniform than the others. His belt consisted of a broad gold braid and on it hung two swords, one an emblem of his office, the other, with pretty silver decoration on the hilt, a gift of honor from the government. We now conferred with these dignitaries about our further journey. Upon our arrival we had planned to move on, after a short rest, in a southerly direction, if possible, following the course of the Lena, directly to Jakutsk /Yakutsk/, or, if this could not be done, to travel to Wiljuisk /Vilyuisk/, and had even entertained the bold idea of skirting Jakutsk in the latter case and hastening via Oljókminsk /Olekminsk/ as quickly as possible toward the longed-for south. At first we /192/ did not at all believe the assertions of our advisors that the execution of these travel plans

Yakut sleigh.

Another means of overland transportation was the ski, which was lined underneath with horsehide and not reindeer suede. The Yakut boats were no different from the Tungus ones. They had a canoe (tyy) made of birch-bark or else flat-bottomed and made from planks. The larger vessel—the karbaz—had sails and was evidently borrowed from the Russians.

Settlements and Buildings

Until recently the Yakut settlements were very much scattered about. The prevalent type of populated point (yal) consisted of one, two or three yurts standing in a row; there were less than 20 people (according to the



Yakut woman with horse festively saddled.

The underclothing of the Yakuts in the old days consisted of leather shorts (syald'yya), which have remained in use to the present day and are the same for men and women. They are supplemented at the top by a fur stomach-warmer and below by leather leggings. The shirt (yrbakhy) appeared later, evidently through Russian influence; it was made from Chinese blue cotton cloth or some other fabric, was the same in cut for men and women, and differed from the Russian shirt only by having a turned-down collar. The commonest outer clothing, both for men and women, was the son, a kaftan like single-breasted coat with a straight vent at the front; there was a fur version for the winter; in recent times it has become usual to cover it with some kind of cloth, but before, it used to be lined with suede. The summer son was made of cloth, but among the poorer people it was made of horsehide or cowhide with the fur on the inside. It was made by sewing four similar tapered strips together with the wider part at the bottom and with extra pieces in the form of small wedges below the belt; the sleeves were wide, puffed at the shoulders and narrow at the bottom. The ancient outer costume (sangyyakh) was retained as the festive dress for women, and to judge by 17th-century texts, it was originally much more widespread and not confined to women. It was a very fine and richly ornamented long fur coat fitting at the waist with a long vent at the back, with fur trimming and various extra pieces sewn on. These fine garments were kept and handed down as a family treasure, predominantly among the toyon families; the cost of them at the end of the 19th century reached as much as 1000 rubles. The cut of the sangyyakh was close to the Altay chegedek (the Khakas sigidek and Buryat tsegdek) from which it differed by having sleeves. The very names "sangyyakh" and "chegedek" are etymologically related. It was the straight vent at the back which distinguished typical Yakut clothing from the double-breasted costume of the steppe nomads, which closed on the right side; the outer clothing of the Yakuts differed from the Tungus clothing in that the flaps came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between at the chest or stomach was covered with a chest-piece. The outer clothing of the men was usually girdled with leather belts; among the richer people the belt was ornamented from end to end with silver or copper plaques. A sheathed knife and a steel for making fire were usually hung from the belt. There were also belts with silver plaques and wide silk sashes.

The shape of the headgear was fairly varied. Leaving aside the types borrowed from the Russians, the following kinds can be distinguished. The ancient fur cap (in later times, made of velveteen) was like a helmet with a sharp point and elongated sides in the form of earpieces; it was trimmed with squirrel or some other fur and was worn by both men and women. It was similar to the type worn by the Kazakhs. The festive women's hat, similar in style, though more dressy, differed from the previous type by having a high cloth top, flat at the front and back, with various embellishments, the chief of which was a silver-minted disk (tuohakhta); the part hanging down at the back of the neck was covered with some kind of expensive fur. These large ceremonial hats are typical only of the Yakuts. They also wore a typical Tungus-type cap made of reindeer fur. The most interesting of the summer hats was a wide-brimmed flat hat, undoubtedly an imitation of the Russian straw hat, but woven entirely of horsehair. In the summer, people very often wore Russian peaked caps, or else bound their heads (both men and women) with a kerchief. A characteristic feature of the Yakut winter clothing

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

535
292
302
415
142

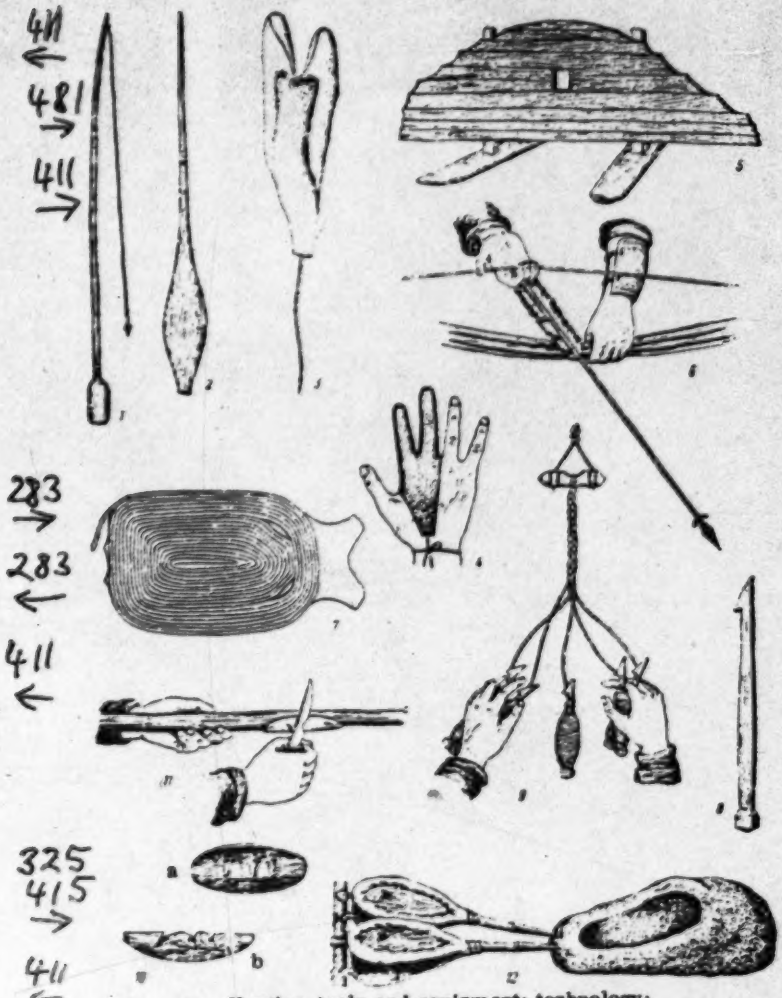
Dance of girls with chorons (kumys pitchers). Amateur performance at collective farm.

Theatre

545 During the time of the Soviet regime a Yakut national art with new forms completely unknown in Yakutiya in the pre-Revolutionary period has blossomed. Before the Revolution Yakuts did not know about the theatre, and music and singing were only found in their most primitive form. In 1925 members of the drama group attached to the People's Russian Theatre in Yakutsk was formed into the Yakut National Troupe, and in 1930 a Yakut [536] National Theatre Studio was set up. From the very first years of its existence the actors set themselves the task of a realistic portrayal of Yakut life, denunciation of the merchants and toyons, and demonstration of the greatness of the Socialist Revolution. The theatre gradually attracted young Yakut actors and actresses who had graduated from the [87] Central Theatre School and Studios. They performed works by Soviet-Yakut dramatists with great success.

Art

532 For centuries Yakutiya has been known for its applied ornamental art, but professional artists only began to appear in the last quarter of the 19th century.



Hunting tools and equipment; technology:
1—flexible stick with cord for releasing a throwing arrow; 2—wooden throwing arrow; 3, 4—glove worn for archery; 5—shield on skis for hiding the hunter; 6—method of protecting the hand during archery; 7—method of cutting a spiral strip from reindeer-skin; 8—wooden hook for braiding lasso; 9—method of braiding lasso; 10a, b—wooden knife holder with holes for blades; 11—method of using knife holder; 12—clay kiln with blacksmith's bellows.

involved concealment: the hunters skillfully approached the herd behind a shield erected on runners. In the winter the hunters put on white coats with chestpieces made of white dogskin, enabling them to crawl over the snow

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

towards the reindeer in complete silence, and in summer they wore a protective gray coat the color of the stony tundra. Both in summer and autumn, until the first snow fell, the Dolgans used to trail wild reindeer with hunting dogs. They used poisoned bullets, and probably poisoned arrows as well in the past. As the poison they used rancid reindeer fat. The Dolgans living in the forest-tundra had wide skis of the Tungus type, but they could not use them in the tundra on account of the drifts.

Hunting wild reindeer was only of importance as a source of meat and skin for the Dolgans' own semisubsistence economy.

For catching geese they set traps or arranged noose-type snares by the nests, and also drove moulting geese into nets set up in advance or harried them with dogs and then killed them with sticks. Ducks were trapped with special nets stretched across lakes. Partridges were also caught this way, though only in winter. Sometimes a live female partridge was tied to the net as bait.

Polar-fox hunting was of quite considerable economic importance and produced the principal commercial yield. The animals were mainly caught with traps and snares. As it seized hold of the bait, the fox pulled away a stick and released a log which fell onto it. The principle of this trap was borrowed from the Russians; up to that time they had only set self-firing bows on stakes driven into the ground to catch the animals.

The commonest type of fishing tackle both in summer and winter under the ice was an upright net 6–30 m long. The nets were made of threads or horsehair brought from Yakutya. In the Noril'sk Rayon the nets were used in the autumn in mountain rivers. The draught animal employed for this purpose was the reindeer and the ropes from the net were attached to its saddle. Other types of nets were used to a very limited degree. Seines were also commonly used for sterlet, burbot, pike and grayling and trout with hooks prefabricated from bent 10-cm nails. Burbot was also caught with special bone points instead of hooks.

For traveling by water, mainly for fishing purposes, there were tree-trunk canoes brought by the merchants from the Yenisey, or bought from the Yakuts. There were few boats; it was only on the rivers Pyasina and Khatanga that they were used.

The Dolgans subsisted mainly on meat and fish. These were boiled or dried and the fish was also eaten in the raw, frozen and unfrozen forms. Fish was also kept in pits where it was pickled. Dead geese were kept buried in the ground. Certain roots were also eaten; they were dug up with reindeer horns or special wooden trowels.

The old type of nomadic dwelling among the Dolgans was the conical Tungus-type tent covered with thin panels of suede (in the summer) and deerhide (in the winter). In the old days the Dolgans, like the Evenks, built huts of the Yakut type, but without the windows, benches and hearth.

With the advent of the Russians the huts were gradually ousted by sled-tents or baloks. These are little huts on runners. The framework consists of wooden struts tightly covered with bright-colored calico, and on top, to keep it warm, there is a layer of deerskin and a canvas cover to guard against damp. In this kind of dwelling there are two windows with glass, an iron stove, bunks, a table, and sometimes even chairs. Whereas the erection of a pole tent required a great deal of labor during the cold winters, this type of tent can simply be pulled along the ground to a new site. These tents were borrowed in the last century from Russian merchants who traveled in them through the tundra.

Among other structures we should point out storehouses standing on high piles for keeping winter clothing and utensils.

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

538

[171]

538
533

538
554
556

292
531

Women's chestpiece embroidered with colored beads.

of tales called ustuoruya (from the Russian word "istoriya" or history), in which the heroes were Russian merchants, poor state-owned peasants, Ivan Tsarevich and other characters from Russian fairytales. Their plots are also close to those of the Russian tales. The historical legends tell of journeys to strange countries and the unusual adventures involved. Some of them are close in content to the legends of the Olenek Khosun epic.

Both in theme and in method of narration, the epic tales were very close to the Yakut olonkho and were even called by the same name. They often describe a way of life alien to the Dolgans; they mention horses and cows, but hardly ever mention reindeer. Their theme is the struggle between heroes and persons consorting with evil spirits. The dialogues, just as in the Yakut epic tales, were sung. Dolgan songs are either short (lyrical) or long. The former were not performed by professionals, and the composers and performers were usually boys and girls. The long songs were performed by highly gifted improvisers or "songsters," who were relatively few and far between.

The storytellers were regarded as the elite, chosen by the good deities and spirits. Gifted storytellers created their own schools and whole generations of young storytellers studied under them. According to the old beliefs of the Dolgans, all the images drawn by the storytellers could be turned into visible images or shadows. This belief in the ability of the storyteller to re-create real images by his words was exploited by the Dolgan shamans to make their methods of "curing" the sick more convincing. Sometimes, to determine which spirit the disease had come from, the shaman would send for a storyteller. The latter would begin telling an epic tale as dusk fell. As soon as the hero of the tale began to gain the upper hand over his adversary, the spirit which had allegedly been eating the patient began to emerge to help his brother spirit. As soon as he saw the evil spirit and knew what kind it was, the shaman cast a spell, now knowing what he had to do to cure the sick person. During heavy epidemics shamans often resorted to the help of the storytellers by asking them to spend evenings telling stories in which all the adventures of the heroes had a happy ending. Since it was considered that the images in the epic tales became visible, in the spring, when the geese arrived, no stories were recounted so that the images would not frighten the geese. To avoid frightening wild deer, stories were not told on the eve of the hunt.

[224]

534 The Dolgans had no musical instruments. It was only at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries that the Yakut jew's-harp began to